DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 134 PS 001 513

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Sex Role Typing in the Preschool Years: An Overview.

Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Ill.
Spons Agency-Illinois State Dept. of Mental Health.
Report No-IJR-RR-Vol-3-No-13
Pub Date 66
Note-36p.
Available from-Institute for Juvenile Research, 907 South Wolcott Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60612.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.90
Descriptors-Identification (Psychological), Individual Differences, Middle Class, *Preschool Children, *Research Reviews (Publications), *Role Perception, Role Theory, *Sex (Characteristics), *Sex Differences, Test Validity
Identifiers-IT Scale For Children

Sex role typing in the preschool child is the subject of this research report. Specific topics considered are sex differences, awareness of sex differences, sex role preferences, parent preferences, sex role identification, and family variables related to sex role typing. This summary of research studies in the field reports experimental and observational findings about behavior and characteristics typical of white middle class boys and girls between the ages of three and five. However, conflicting results of the research make firm generalizations impossible. It is suggested that standard tests of sex role preference and identification are of little value and may not be valid instruments. Although children were aware of and showed sex-appropriate behavior, the factors responsible for this sex role typing have not been identified. Further research is suggested to investigate the growth of sex role identity in children. A theory of sex role development is also called for. A nine-page bibliography is included in the report. (MS)

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RESEARCH PROGRAM IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

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PS001513

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT
COMMUNITY STUDIES
MEASUREMENT & EVALUATION
PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGY
SOCIAL SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

RESEARCH REPORT
1966 Vol. 3 No. 13

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R E S E A R C H R E P O R T
1966 Vol. 3 No. 13

Sex Role Typing in the Preschool Years: An Overview

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During the initial stages of a research project on masculinity and femininity in the preschool years, it became apparent that no single source summarized the evidence concerning preschool sex role development. The most recent review (Kagan, 1964) of sex-typing and sex role identity in children, while comprehensive, treated developmental trends in a way that obscured the nature of masculinity and femininity at any particular stage. Since personality development goes through several stages during childhood, it would appear useful to summarize research findings for limited age ranges before attempting to study developmental trends.

The present paper concerns sex role typing in the preschool child. Although Spencer (1964) has discussed pertinent research findings in early childhood, the present paper limits its scope strictly to the preschool years and qualifies some of the findings presented by Spencer. Sex differences, awareness of sex differences, sex role preferences, parent preferences, sex role identification and family variables related to sex role typing are the topics considered.

Sex Differences

The purpose of this section is to report experimental and observational findings about the behavior and characteristics typical of the

[1]The authors acknowledge with thanks the editorial comments given by Dr. Noël Jenkin.

preschool boy and girl in the United States. Most of the Ss in the studies to be reported were middle-class whites.

Only the conclusions of some studies will be reported since abstracts of them appear in an annotated bibliography on sex differences (Oetzel, 1962). Studies described in more detail either were omitted from that bibliography or have appeared in the literature since its compilation.

General characteristics. In 1937 Hattwick asked three teachers to rate normal nursery school children on 60 behavior items. The teachers described the boys as extraverted, aggressive toward other children, negative toward adults and as exhibiting marked physical activity. They also had poorer work habits, more speech difficulties and a greater incidence of masturbation than girls.

The girls were more likely to withdraw, have introverted tendencies, give in too easily, avoid play with others, stay near adults, show fears and jealousy, avoid risks, tell fanciful stories and cry easily. They also had a greater tendency to twist their hair, refuse food and boss others. Most of these differences, according to the teachers, were as obvious in a child of two years as in a child of four years.

In parents' reports of their child's symptomatology, Beller and Neubauer (1963) found support for Hattwick's observations. Boys were observed to exhibit hyperaggression, hyperactivity and speech disturbances; girls were reported to have more problems of overdependence, emotional overcontrol and sibling rivalry.

Goodenough (1957) learned from interviews with parents that preschool boys were interested in objects and that preschool girls were interested in people. In that same study Goodenough determined from the children's drawings

and verbalizations to projective materials that the boys were more objectively oriented toward the environment and displayed "hail-fellow-well-met" sociability, aggressiveness, obstinacy and emotional suppression. Their mental approach was direct, impersonal and logical; their interests revolved around objects, ideas and gross motor activity. Boys also had a greater need to show sex-appropriate behavior than did girls.

The girls, on the other hand, were more personally oriented to the environment, pliable, flirtatious, submissive, gentle, emotional, sensitive and likely to court affection. Their mental approach was indirect, personal and empathic. Their interests were in pretty clothes, domestic habits, families, self and personal appearance.

Aggression. It has been a frequent finding that aggressiveness is more characteristic of preschool boys' behavior than of preschool girls' (Beller & Neubauer, 1963; Dawe, 1934; Green, 1933; Hartup & Himeno, 1959; Jersild & Markey, 1935; McCandless, Bilous & Bennett, 1961; Moore & Ucko, 1961; Sears, Pintler & Sears, 1946; Walters, Pearce & Dahms, 1957). Others studies have found, however, that both preschool girls and boys exhibit aggressiveness (Bach, 1945; Durrett, 1959; McKee & Leader, 1955; Muste & Sharpe, 1947; Sears, Whiting, Nowlis & Sears, 1953). These latter investigators found it necessary to distinguish between physical and verbal expressions of aggression. When this distinction was made, it was found that boys were more likely to aggress physically and that girls were more likely to aggress verbally. Muste and Sharpe (1947) found that boys used grabbing rather than verbal demands in initiating aggression, and physical resistance as a response to aggression. Girls resorted to all types of verbal techniques in aggression and counter-aggression.

Three other studies have confirmed the predominance of physical aggression in boys but have not found the corresponding predominance of verbal aggression in girls (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961; Jersild & Markey, 1935; P. S. Sears, 1951). Jersild and Markey (1935) reported that girls tended to engage in more verbal than physical conflicts but there were no data showing that girls had more verbal conflicts than boys when the total number of conflicts was considered.

Dependency. Studies of dependency have relied mostly upon the technique of observation to obtain data. Thus the lack of consistent findings regarding sex differences in expression of dependency cannot be attributed to differences in data collection methods.

Mothers have reported that girls are more dependent than boys (Beller & Neubauer, 1963). Teachers' reports have corroborated this finding but observers in their classrooms did not find any sex differences (Sears et al., 1953). Classroom observations by McCandless et al. (1961) found that although girls showed more emotional dependency, i.e., attention-seeking and asking unnecessary help, they did not differ from boys in instrumental dependency, i.e., asking objective help. To further confuse the issue, Hattwick (1937) using classroom observations found that boys exhibited more emotional dependency than girls.

No sex differences in any type of dependency response were reported by Crandall, Orleans, Preston and Rabson (1958), Hartup and Keller (1960), Heathers (1955), Kohlberg and Zigler (1961) and McCandless and Marshall (1957).

Social relationships. The preschooler has not been found to prefer heterosexual playmates. Two-year-olds were inclined to favor with more attention like-sex rather than cross-sex playmates (Koch, 1944). Four- and five-year-olds also preferred their own sex when asked to choose photographs

of boys and girls (Abel & Sahinkaya, 1962). McCandless and Hoyt (1961) observed three- to five-year-olds over a period of months and reported that like-sex preference was more prevalent for the boys than for the girls.

Sex differences in social participation have been reported, however. Parents observed a greater degree of social interest and awareness in girls than in boys (Goodenough, 1957). McCandless and Marshall (1957) reported that girls' sociometric scores averaged a third higher than boys'. The children's teachers, however, did not perceive a significant sex difference in the amount of social acceptance or social interaction with peers. Other classroom observers also found no sex differences in the popularity of preschool boys and girls (McCandless et al., 1961).

Cognitive abilities. Girls at the preschool age have consistently outranked boys in language skills (Jersild & Ritzman, 1938; McCarthy, 1930; Wellman, Case, Mengert & Bradbury, 1931; Young, 1941). Girls were superior to boys on the Draw-A-Man (Anastasi & D'Angelo, 1952) and on most tasks of the 1937 revision of the Stanford-Binet (McNemar, 1942).

On the Gesell developmental scales, girls' drawings were more detailed and their counting was more accurate and at a higher level than the performance of boys (Gesell, 1940). Boys, however, excelled in the weight comparisons task. There were no sex differences in form recognition or picture naming.

It should be noticed that most of the studies concerning cognitive abilities were done in the decades of the 30's and 40's and that the findings were clear-cut in indicating that preschool girls were superior

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to preschool boys in many cognitive abilities. Lack of studies in recent years would seem to indicate that investigators do not question the validity of these earlier findings. Why these differences exist would now seem to be the appropriate research problem.

Summary. Even at the preschool age, boys and girls tend to exhibit sex differences that are similar to the differences attributed to adult men and women. In general, preschool girls were reported to have better language facility and to be more gentle, empathic and submissive than boys. Preschool boys, on the other hand, were observed to have more language and behavior problems, and to be more active.

No consistent sex differences in dependency or social interaction were reported, and the popular notion that girls are not aggressive was qualified. Generally, boys seem to express aggression physically and girls express aggression verbally.

The present authors believe that sex differences as presented in this paper should not be equated with differences in masculine and feminine sex role typing. It could very well be that certain sex differences have nothing to do with the qualities of being masculine or feminine. For instance, the fact that preschool boys are more likely than girls to have behavior problems does not imply that the more masculine boys have behavior problems. Nor does verbal facility in a boy necessarily mean that he has the tendency to be feminine.

Awareness of Sex Differences

Awareness of sex differences will be discussed in terms of physical and

clothing variables, childhood sex roles and parental sex roles. It will be seen that in the preschool years children are becoming aware of sex differences and are able to verbalize them.

Awareness of physical and clothing differences. When a pair of segments of human figures identical except for a variable of hair, clothing, breasts or genitals were presented to boys and girls three to nine years of age, errors in identifying the sex of a figure decreased with age for all cues except breasts (Katcher, 1955). Clothing and hair provided the best differentiating cues. Over one-half of the children at the ages of four and five made errors in judgment when genitals were the cues given.

Katcher (1955) also found that cues on child and like-sex figures led to fewer errors in differentiation than did cues on adult and cross-sex figures. Children with cross-sex siblings had no advantage in making correct differentiations, but four- and five-year-old children with only one parent at home made more accurate differentiations than did children with both parents at home.

Play interviews with dolls was the method Conn and Kanner (1947) used to study the development of awareness of sex differences in four- to twelve-year-olds. At four, hair was first utilized as a differentiating cue. At five, clothes, eyes, and hands as well as hair were employed. Not until late in the sixth year were facial characteristics used as cues for distinguishing the sexes.

Evidence as to whether boys or girls are more accurate in identifying physical sex differences was not clear. No sex differences in accuracy of

judgment were reported by Katcher (1955). On the other hand, Rabban (1950) reported that boys were better than girls in selecting a doll which looked most like themselves and in stating the sex of each doll.

Awareness of childhood sex role differences. In addition to clothing and physical differences, a preschooler is becoming aware of his appropriate sex role. One study of choice of sex-typed toys has indicated that boys seem more clearly aware than girls of sex-appropriate behavior (Rabban, 1950). Boys also stated more correct preferences than did girls for becoming the appropriate parent, a daddy or a mommy. Fauls and Smith (1956) found that both boys and girls were aware that their parents preferred for them to engage in sex-appropriate activities, but only boys were more likely to choose sex-appropriate activities. Emmerich (1959b) and Goodenough (1957) also reported that boys were more aware of their appropriate sex role.

Awareness of parental sex role differences. In another study by Emmerich (1959a) boys and girls aged four to ten years were shown pairs of figures in mother-girl, father-boy, mother-father and girl-boy combinations and were asked to choose the person in each pair who would make a particular statement involving a function. All the Ss assigned facilitating (expressive) behavior to the mother's role and interfering (instrumental) behavior to the father's role. In the Emmerich (1959b) study referred to earlier, boys in doll play perceived mother as more nurturant and father as more controlling.

However, both boys and girls have been found to assign facilitating behavior more to themselves and interfering behavior more to the other sex (Emmerich, 1959a). And although girls saw themselves as less powerful than boys, they saw mother as more powerful than father. Boys made no differentiation on this dimension.

Both Hartley (1960) and Finch (1954) reported that preschool children thought both mother and father perform many of the same roles. Generally speaking father was thought to be the economic provider and mother, the housekeeper and "contributor to the species." Father was seen as "helping" with the housekeeping and child care. Women who were perceived to have assumed the work role were also thought to be "helping" rather than "supplanting" the father's responsibility. In a study by Mott (1954) parents were rarely pictured as participating in recreational activities.

Awareness of the dimensions of the mother role may depend upon whether the child's mother is working or not (Duvall, 1955). Five- and six-year-olds were asked to tell stories about photographs and outline drawings of mother in 13 common roles. Children of non-working mothers more often than children of working mothers saw mother in the role of preparing food and caring for a sick child. The latter children were more likely to see the mother working.

Older preschool children were able to distinguish between mother and father as to appearance (Mott, 1954). In drawing family members in a group, few four-year-olds but many five-year-olds appropriately drew mother and father.

Summary. Preschool children differentiate the sexes mainly on the basis of clothing and hair, and they do not show awareness of the primary cues distinguishing the sexes. It has not been determined whether boys or girls are more aware of sex differences in clothing and hair, but it does appear that boys are more aware of appropriate sex role behavior.

Preschoolers differentiate the roles of mother and father primarily in terms of who is the homemaker and comforter and who is the economic

provider and controller. However, they do not think it inappropriate for mother or father to engage in the role of the other.

Sex Role Preference

It should be pointed out that sex role preference does not necessarily indicate sex role identification (Brown, 1956). A child's motivation for exhibiting appropriate sex preferences may be due to external or societal standards rather than internalized standards. Thus, preference may be only superficial (Hill, 1960). Identification, on the other hand, is thought to be an intrinsic part of the personality.

In keeping with this distinction, some studies purporting to deal with sex role identification, e.g., Mussen and Distler (1959) and Rabban (1950), are discussed here under sex role preference; another study, ostensibly about sex role preference (Hartup, 1962), is more appropriately reported under sex role identification.

Sex role preferences of preschoolers are often determined by choice of sex-typed objects and activities. In some cases the child is asked to make choices for a "neutral" figure, and in others, the child makes object and activity choices for himself directly.

An indirect method of assessment. The IT Scale for Children (ITSC; Brown, 1956) requires the preschooler to choose sex-typed objects, clothes and activities for an asexual stick figure called IT. In making choices for IT, the child is assumed to make choices for himself. This indirect approach to the assessment of sex role preference was devised in order to avoid obtaining socially expected responses.

In the first published article on the ITSC, preschool girls were quite

heterogeneous in their preferences. Only 49% and 55% of the girls chose feminine alternatives in the toy pictures and paired pictures sections, respectively. Boys, in contrast to girls, strongly preferred their own sex role. In the toy pictures section 70% of the boys' choices were masculine. In the paired pictures section, 81% of the boys' choices were masculine.

In a 1957 study by Brown, similar findings were reported. Seventy-nine per cent of kindergarten boys' choices on the paired pictures section were masculine and only 50% of kindergarten girls' choices were feminine. That preschool boys have a stronger preference for their sex role than girls have for theirs was also found by Borstelmann (1961) when he administered the ITSC.

The validity of the above findings depends upon the neutrality of the IT figure. An S of either sex must be able to think of IT as himself. Such neutrality has been questioned. Kohlberg and Zigler (1961) asked children to indicate which sex IT was. One-half of the girls and nearly all of the boys called IT a boy. For girls, calling IT a boy was associated with scoring more masculine on the ITSC.

By systematically modifying the instructions on the ITSC, Hartup and Zook (1960) showed a similar finding. One group received standard instructions. For a second group IT was called a boy or girl, according to the sex of S and IT was called by S's own name in a third group. Boys gave more masculine responses when IT was called by their own names and girls gave more feminine responses when IT was merely referred to as a little girl.

Lansky and McKay (1963) modified the ITSC in another way, presenting IT

concealed in an envelope. Among five-year-olds, boys scored more masculine and girls, more feminine. The variance was much higher for boys than for girls. Hence the girls showed as strong a preference for their role, under the modification of the ITSC, as the boys had previously shown for their role. Neither boys nor girls, however, unanimously preferred their own sex role.

It can be concluded that the ITSC needs revision if it is to be a valid measure of sex role preference. At least one variable other than sex role preference has been found to influence an S's responses to the ITSC. Brown (1962) has agreed that evidence indicates that any human figure not clearly structured will tend to be seen as male. However, to the present authors' knowledge, there is no standard revision of the ITSC. Individual investigators have been adapting the ITSC as they see fit.

Direct methods of assessment. Using a direct preference approach to the study of sex role preference, Fauls and Smith (1956) reported that preschool boys chose masculine activities for themselves more often than did girls, but that preschool girls did not choose feminine activities for themselves more often than did boys. Rabban (1950) and Borstelmann (1961) also found that preschool boys made more appropriate choices than did girls on the toy preference test developed by Rabban (1950).

But when Borstelmann (1961) used an adaptation of the Fauls and Smith (1956) technique, boys did not have more sex-appropriate scores than girls. DeLucia (1963) also found no sex differences in degree of sex role preference in the preschool years.

A Group Toy-Preference Test developed from the list of children's toys

compiled by Rabban (1950) was used by Anastasiow (1965) to form criterion groups varying in sex role preference. It was found that feminine boys as determined by this test made more feminine choices on two other tests of sex role preference, the Toy- and Picture-Preference tests (Sears, Rau & Alpert, 1965) than did masculine boys. The latter tests were based on work by Rabban (1950) and Fauls and Smith (1956), respectively. It would seem that the above three tests are measuring the same variable, but teachers' observations in the classroom did not find that feminine boys were more likely to play with feminine toys (Anastasiow, 1965).

Sex of experimenter and sex role preference. Three studies (Fauls & Smith, 1956; Hetherington, 1965; Rabban, 1950) have indicated that sex of experimenter has no apparent effect on object preference. Sex of experimenter may have influenced the results of two other studies (Hartup, Moore & Sager, 1963; Ammons & Ammons, 1949). Hartup et al. (1963) found that boys avoided inappropriate sex-typed toys when a female E was present. In her absence they played freely with these toys.

Summary. Sex role preference has been primarily determined by a choice of sex-typed objects and activities. Although some findings indicate that boys have more sex-appropriate scores than do girls, the like-sex preference has been in the majority for both sexes. However, it does appear that the like-sex preference is not characteristic of all children whose sex-typing is apparently normal.

The ITSC has been the most frequently employed method of determining sex role preference, but studies have shown that the IT figure is not a neutral one. As a result, the validity of the ITSC will be open to question until a revised ITSC has been standardized.

Because the effect of sex of experimenter has not been studied systematically, evidence adequate to determine its influence on sex role preference is lacking.

Parent Preference

In discussing parent preference it has been necessary to make a distinction between role and object preference. Pishkin (1960) found that boys preferred the father's role and girls preferred the mother's role when answers to the question, "Would you like to be your mother or father?" were analyzed. However, answers to "Whom do you like better, your mother or your father?" suggested that both boys and girls preferred the mother as an object.

Ammons and Ammons (1949) also provide data that support such a distinction. They found that three- and four-year-old boys definitely preferred the father and four- and five-year-old girls preferred the mother when asked to respond to doll play situations involving role. The method of data collection warrants interpreting this finding in terms of role preference. When the same children were asked, "Whom do you like best?" the answers agreed only 50% with the doll play results. Making distinctions between role and object preference seems to be valid.

Simpson (1935) elicited a preference for mother when he asked five- to nine-year-olds to make parent preferences from pictures and stories and by answering such questions as, "Whom do you like best at home?" In both tasks all except five-year-olds displayed an overwhelming preference for mother. This tendency was greater for boys than for girls. Boys were also more stable in their preferences than were girls.

Since Simpson (1935) also found that children preferred the parent who

catered to their material wants, expressed affection, played with them most and punished them least, a preference for mother as an object is a reasonable interpretation. In addition, Simpson found that boys were punished more often by father whereas neither mother nor father was consistently more punitive to girls.

Summary. It has been found necessary to distinguish between parent as object and parent as role. When this distinction is made, there seems to be a like-sex preference for parental role but mother is preferred by both sexes when she is regarded as an object. The fact that mother rather than father spends a much larger portion of the day with her children and meets the children's basic needs regularly makes such a finding interpretable.

Sex Identification

Projective techniques are the most prevalent method for assessing sex identification in preschool children. In this section the nature of various projective techniques will be described and an attempt will be made to evaluate the suitability of these methods for determining sex identification in the preschool child.

Although identification has been explained in many ways (Hill, 1960; Kagan, 1964) the present authors prefer the following definition. Identification is the conscious or unconscious internalization of the attributes and behaviors of a model. The process of identification, for a child, involves the child's responding to events as if he were the model. In terms of sex role, it is appropriate that a boy internalize the behavior of a male model and that a girl internalize the behavior of a female model. It is identification rather than simply overt behaviors that projective tests claim to measure.

Figure drawing. Basically, there are two figure drawing methods for

obtaining information about sex identification, the House-Tree-Person (H-T-P; Buck, 1948) and the Draw-A-Person (DAP; Machover, 1949). In the H-T-P the S is asked to draw the three figures named and to comment on the drawings. Theoretically, the person drawn is a self-portrait. A child's sex identity is one variable evaluated on the basis of the portrait.

The DAP is similar to the H-T-P, but only the drawing of a person is requested. It is assumed that the figure drawn represents the child's self-image, including his sex identification.

Giving the H-T-P to 50 boys and 50 girls at each age from five to 14 years, Bieliauskas (1960) found predominantly like-sex drawings. Earlier Jolles (1952) reported the same finding. Eighty per-cent of the five-year-olds tested drew a like-sex figure. This is a higher percentage than in the Bieliauskas (1960) study, but many drawings in the Jolles study were judged ambiguous as to sex and were discarded before data analysis.

After administering the DAP to 1444 children aged five to 18, Butler and Marcuse (1959) reported that both sexes tended to draw their own sex figure first. Of the 26 boys at age five, 69% drew their own sex first. Of the five-year-old girls, 59% drew their own sex first. The percentages were higher for six-year-olds.

The results of studies using figure drawings to assess sex identification indicate that preschoolers have not yet achieved a strong sense of appropriate sex identification. The Ss tend to draw like-sex figures but the absolute percentages vary from chance to 80%.

This use of figure drawing methods is not without criticism. In an extensive review of figure drawing studies, Brown and Tolor (1957) advised

readers to be skeptical in interpreting the drawings in terms of sex identification. Butler and Marcuse (1959) also cautioned against incorrect designation of the sex of drawing by preschoolers since judges in their study had a mean error of 51% in classification. In other words, it was difficult to determine the sex of a figure drawn.

Jolles (1952) cautioned against using the term homosexual to describe boys between five and seven who draw the cross-sex figure first. He reported that it was not an unusual finding during these ages.

The present authors add a further word of caution. Sufficient reliability and validity data on figure drawings as a measure of sex identification have not been published. Without this information figure drawings seem inadequate for use in research on sex identification.

Storytelling. There are at least two storytelling methods that have been used to gain information about preschool children's sex identification. For the Children's Apperception Test (CAT; Bellak & Bellak, 1961), animal cartoons were designed to elicit dynamic materials relating to the common desires and conflicts of three- to ten-year-olds. The Blacky Pictures (Blum, 1950) is a similar technique. It purports to reveal the degree of a child's psychosexual development from an analysis of the stories he builds around twelve cartoon drawings of a child-like dog, Blacky, and his (her) family.

Although both the CAT and the Blacky Pictures have been proposed as measures of sex identification, like the H-T-P and the DAP, appropriate reliability and validity data are lacking. Such data should be obtained before relying upon these tests as measures of sex identification. In any case, it should be noted that both tests take considerable training to

administer, and interpretations are overly dependent upon the examiner's experience.

Doll play. Many variations of doll play have been proposed for assessing sex identification, but doll play as developed by D. B. Lynn (1959) is a fairly typical technique. In Lynn's method two- to five-inch dolls representing family figures are presented in a series of typical family and age mate situations. The S is told what is happening and is asked to resolve the situations in doll play. The choice of dolls and behaviors attributed to the dolls is thought to indicate sex identification.

Children's parental identification was investigated by doll play (Emmerich, 1959b). It was hypothesized that high identification with a particular parent would be characteristic of children who thought that a child doll treated a baby doll in the same way that a parent doll treated both the child and baby dolls. It was found that boys selected the like-sex parent doll as an identification model more often than the cross-sex parent doll. The direction of identification was not significant for girls.

In a study by Hartup (1962) a child's tendency to imitate a parent was assessed by means of a forced-choice doll play interview. Both boys and girls tended to imitate the like-sex parent rather than the cross-sex parent. Correlations between the imitation measure and ITSC scores suggested to Hartup that feminine sex role preference is related to imitation of the mother. Masculine sex role preference, however, was interpreted as independent of imitation of the father. This finding

confirms a point made earlier. Sex role preference and sex role identification are not necessarily one and the same.

Ucko and Moore (1964) used doll play as a measure of change in identification. In the first administration of doll play four-year-olds saw mother as the predominantly helpful parent, though boys were somewhat more ambivalent about this than were girls. When tested again at six years, the boys brought the father doll into play more than the mother doll, suggesting to the investigators that the identification process had begun to shift noticeably.

In a review of research on doll play Levin and Wardwell (1962) stated that the major difficulty with doll play involves understanding what the method is measuring. It has not been determined if children in doll play are exhibiting wish fulfillment or real life replication. Despite these shortcomings several studies report consistent findings using doll play (Emmerich, 1959b; Hartup, 1962; Ucko & Moore, 1964). Children show a greater degree of identification with the like-sex parent than with the cross-sex parent.

Summary. To date adequate measures of sex role identification have not been formulated. Figure drawing, storytelling and doll play are projective techniques which enjoy wide use in clinical situations, but from a research point of view they have not been sufficiently developed. There is little evidence that these measures are reliable and valid indices of sex role identification. Obtaining a measure of the sex role with which a person consciously or unconsciously identifies is probably one of the most difficult tasks facing investigators in the area of personality development.

Related Family Variables

A recent study by Lansky (1966) concluded that in order to learn more about sex role in children, it is necessary to look more carefully at developmental changes in parents. This conclusion was based on his finding that the sex role preferences of kindergarten boys and girls were related to parents' sex role attitudes, attitudes which seem to change with family structure. Reported here are studies which have investigated the relationships between sex role behavior of preschool children and several parental variables as perceived by the child and/or his parents. The child's ordinal position in the family will also be considered.

Parental variables. Mussen and Rutherford (1963) studied parent-child relations and parental personality in relation to young children's sex role preferences. Parents were give the Femininity (-Masculinity) and Self-acceptance scales of the CPI and a list of sex-typed games and activities on which to indicate what they did with the child and what they encouraged him to do. The child's perception of his parents as nurturant or punitive was elicited in doll play and his sex role preference was measured by the ITSC.

If the father-son relationship was seen as powerful, the son was likely to score highly masculine, even if the father did not especially encourage masculine activities or score high on masculinity or self-acceptance. Conversely, a ruggedly masculine, self-confident father who had a poor relationship with his son was not likely to have a highly masculine son even when masculine activities were actively encouraged. In this study as well as an earlier one (Mussen & Distler, 1959), the relationship that fostered masculine sex role preference was one in which the son saw the

father as nurturant as well as somewhat punitive. It was learned from mothers' reports that the fathers of high masculine boys had stronger affectional bonds toward their sons than did father of less masculine boys (Mussen & Distler, 1960). These same mothers, however, did not report that more masculine boys also had more punitive fathers.

In the Mussen and Rutherford (1963) study, the mothers of girls who had feminine ITSC scores were more self-accepting than the mothers of girls who were less feminine. The former mothers were not more feminine but their husbands were more masculine. These fathers also encouraged their daughters to participate in appropriate games more often than did the mothers.

In 1962 Rosalie Lynn reported that in doll play the more feminine girls as decermined by ITSC scores perceived the mother figure as warmer and more nurturant toward the girl doll than did the less feminine girls. The latter girls attributed more warmth to the father.

Maternal attitudes reflecting authoritarianism toward children and dissatisfaction with the husband, as measured by the Parental Attitude Research Instrument, were positively related to girls' imitation of the mother in doll play and high feminine ITSC scores (Hartup, 1962). The boys' imitation of the father was also positively related to the mothers' authoritarianism but negatively related to maternal encouragement of independence and verbalization.

Angrilli (1960) did not find significant relationships between psychosexual identification patterns of boys and those of their parents. The child's identification was measured by an activity preference chcklist,

a behavior and personality rating scale and the DAP. The parent's identification measures were the M-F scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Terman-Miles Attitude-Interest Analysis Test and the DAP. Since these three are thought to tap various types of sex identity and sex role preference, and they have not been substantially related in other studies (Barrows & Zuckerman, 1960; Granick & Smith, 1953; Heston, 1948; Shepler, 1951), it is not surprising that there were no significant relationships. The results would seem to support the notion that many factors make up one's psychosexual orientation and thus far no single test published has incorporated all of these factors.

It is not clear which parent is the more influential in the sex role preference of the preschool child. Mussen and Distler (1960) reported from interviews with mothers that the father-son relationship was more closely associated with boys' sex-typing than was the mother-son relationship. Later, Mussen and Rutherford (1963) added that fathers are <u>also</u> important to the development of femininity but that mothers are <u>only</u> important to the development of femininity. Hartup (1962), on the other hand, reported that boys learn masculine behavior outside the imitative relationship with the father and that girls learn femininity from the mother.

Goodenough (1957) reported that although fathers have greater concern about sex-typing than do mothers, both parents discourage femininity in boys and are tolerant of tomboyishness in girls. Both boys and girls seem to be aware that their parents prefer that they engage in sex-appropriate activities, but boys' sex role preferences are more likely to agree with

perceived paternal expectations than are girls' choices. On the other hand, girls' choices are not more likely to agree with perceived maternal expectations than are boys' choices (Fauls & Smith, 1956).

Sibling variables. Brim (1958) studied family structure in relation to sex role learning. Teachers' ratings of preschool children on behavior traits indicated that children with cross-sex siblings possessed more traits appropriate to the cross-sex role. This effect was more noticeable for children who were the younger of cross-sex siblings.

Brim (1958) added that the acquisition of male traits by girls with brothers seemed to add to their behavior repertoire rather than reduce the number of feminine traits. But the feminine traits acquired by boys with older sisters seemed to replace masculine traits rather than add to their behavior repertoire.

Fauls and Smith (1956) reported that only children's play choices were more sex-appropriate than choices of children with older like-sex siblings. Further, only children's play choices showed closer agreement with perceived paternal preferences than with perceived maternal preferences.

Summary. There is much evidence that parents' attitudes are related to children's sex role preferences. It appears, however, that it is not a parent's own sex role preference which has the most influence on a child's sex role development, but rather other personality variables such as nurturance and punitiveness. Being nurturant and strict with the child at appropriate times seems to promote appropriate sex role development.

It is not clear whether the like- or cross-sex parent has more influence on the development of the child's sex role preference, but it appears

that both parents are at least concerned about sex role development in children of both sexes. Also children are aware of their parents' preferences.

Sibling composition of the family seems to influence sex role development. If the siblings are of both sexes it is more likely that they will take on traits of the other sex.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to summarize the research of sex role typing in the preschool years. Generalizations about sex role identity, preferences, etc., as the authors believed justified were made in the summary of each area of research considered.

It can be seen that relatively few generalizations could be made with confidence. The lack of consistent definitions and a theory of sex role development has hindered synthesis of empirical findings. At present there is no sound basis for resolving conflicting data coming from research using observations, projective and interview techniques, let alone integrating similar findings.

Standard tests of sex role preference and sex role identification seem to be of little value in the study of the nature and origin of sex role development. Studies reported in this paper question the validity of such tests currently used in research in this area of personality development.

In spite of these limitations, it was found that boys and girls between the ages of three and five, to some extent, were aware of and exhibited sex-appropriate behavior. Little can be said, however, to indicate

what factors are responsible for this appropriate sex typing.

It would seem that future research should make great efforts to seek the ontogensis of sex role identity and to develop a theory of sex role development. The large amount of basic research summarized in this paper should encourage such efforts.

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